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Socialist Labour Congress In Brussels.

SOCIALIST LABOUR CONGRESS IN BRUSSELS.

BRUSSELS, Aug. 16.

An International Socialist Labour Congress, organized by the Belgian labour party, was inaugurated to-day at the Maison du Peuple, the headquarters of the labour party here. The proceedings were of a purely formal character, consisting in the official reception of delegates, the verification of their credentials, and the appointment of committees. Every country in Europe, excepting Russia and Portugal, is represented. The Belgian delegates number no fewer than 188, all the industries connected with wood and iron, including the mining interest, being strongly represented. In all, 363 delegates have reported themselves, a considerable number being ladies. In addition to the 188 Belgian delegates there are 42 from Germany, 11 from Austria, 60 from France, 23 from Great Britain, six from the United States, nine from Holland, six from Switzerland, three from Denmark, three from Norway and Sweden, two from Italy, five from Poland, five from Roumania, two from Hungary, and one from Spain. The two branches of Socialism known in France as the Marxists and the Blanquists are both represented in force, while M. Allemane himself will look after Possibilist interests. Among the German delegates are several well-known Socialist leaders, including Herr Bebel, Liebknecht, and Singer.

The British delegates include Dr. Edward Aveling and Mrs. Aveling (who is a daughter of the German Socialist Carl Marx); Mr. William Thorne, representing the Gasworkers' General Labourers' Union; Mr. William Sanders, representing the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League; Mr. Frederick Lessner, representing the Bloomsbury Socialist Society; Messrs. W. Parnell and T. Walker, representing the Cabinet Makers' Alliance; Mr. H. Burrows, representing the Navvies', Bricklayers' Labourers, and Matchmakers' Union; J. H. Watts, representing the Social Democrat Federation; Messrs. H. Banks and D. Macdonald, representing the London Society of Compositors; Mr. Hobson, of the Sheffield Trades Council; Mr. Holmes, of the Leicester Trades Council; Mr. J. Ogilvie, representing the Scottish Labour party; Messrs. Greenwood and Volkel, representing the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Blowers; Mr. H. R. Taylor, of the London Trades Council; Mr. F. Gillies, of the International Federation of Trades and Industries; Mr. C. Bolgo, of the London Patriotic Club; and Mr. Juggins, representing the Midland Counties Federation. The London Autonomy Club is also represented. Messrs. Burns and Hyndman were expected, but have not arrived.

It was resolved that Herr Singer, who is a member of the German Reichstag, and M. Vaillant, a member of the Paris Municipal Council, should be joint presidents at the first actual business meeting of the Congress. The sittings of the Congress will extend over the whole week. It is announced that the voting will be taken by nationalities, but it remains to be seen whether this arrangement will meet with general approval. Speeches are to be limited in their duration to ten minutes, and will be translated for the benefit of all sections of the Congress immediately after their delivery. Anarchists and other revolutionary factions are excluded from the Congress. This, at all events, was resolved upon by the Belgian organizers of the meeting, and the principle was confirmed to-day in connexion with the verification of credentials, when a somewhat noteworthy incident occurred. The Belgian members objected to the admission of three delegates representing Anarchist groups. Some slight opposition to their action was offered by Mr. Gillies, of London, and one or two others, who supported the Anarchists. M. Volders, the leading Belgian organizer, maintained that, as the Conference had really nothing in common with the aims or methods of the Anarchists, these delegates certainly ought not to be admitted. It was resolved, almost unanimously, in the end, to abide by the recommendation of the Belgians, and the Anarchist delegates were accordingly excluded from the Congress.

Two American delegates each claimed to represent the same society. A long discussion brought to light the fact that the society had been split into two sections, and both delegates were therefore admitted. One American delegate represents no fewer than 40 groups of Socialists. Some delegates represent a large number of associations, but no particulars are yet obtainable as to the number of men represented, excepting in the case of the British delegates, who are said to represent 100,000 men. The room in which the Congress meets has been specially decorated for the occasion, the banners of all the Brussels workmen's associations having been called into requisition for the purpose. The decorations are not confined to the hall itself, but extend to the whole building, while over many taverns and houses in the immediate vicinity float flags and bunting of various kinds—red, however, being the prevailing colour. To-morrow the Congress will proceed with the business on the programme, which includes the following important subjects:—The legislative protection of labour, the laws concerning combination, strikes, and boycotting, the position and duty of the working classes with respect to militarism, the attitude of the organized workmen of all countries with respect to the Jewish question, universal suffrage, the emancipation of labour, the eight hours question, and the Socialist organization and Socialist problems.—*Reuter's Special Service.*

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR CON- GRESS AT BRUSSELS.

BRUSSELS, Aug. 17.

The International Socialist Labour Conference reassembled this morning at 10 o'clock, not in the Maison du Peuple, where the first meeting was held yesterday, but in the more spacious and comfortable Halle Saint Michel, in the Rue d'Or.

The Halle Saint Michel, as well as the Maison du Peuple, has been decorated with red flags and other Socialist emblems. Ten o'clock was the hour fixed for the resumption of business, but it was nearly 11 before the Congress actually got to work, the intervening hour being occupied by the consideration in private of the Standing Orders. When the sitting began, M. Anseele, a Belgian delegate, was appointed President for the French language, and Mr. Hobson, of the Sheffield Trades Council, President for the English language.

It was announced that the Standing Orders Committee recommended that the Congress should sit each day in the morning from 10 until half-past 12, and in the afternoon from 2 to 5. A reporter should be appointed for each nationality, and be allowed to speak for 15 minutes on any question, the speeches of other delegates being limited to ten minutes' duration. Further, a delegate might be permitted to speak twice on the same subject, but on the second occasion should be allowed five minutes only. These recom-

mendations were unanimously adopted. It was also decided that a committee composed of one delegate from each nationality should meet during the dinner hour, to arrange what business should be taken in the afternoon, and in what form it ought to be dealt with.

Considerable discussion arose over a claim put forward by an Italian delegate from Milan, named Alleva, who intimated that he was an Anarchist, but declared that he was nevertheless entitled to be present as the representative of various associations of Italian working men. It was forcibly pointed out to Signor Alleva that he was, in fact, present, that no one had suggested his expulsion, and that, therefore, there was no necessity whatever to debate the matter. At last, after nearly 40 minutes had been wasted over it, the subject was dropped. In order, however, to give time to the committee on the orders of the day to consider the question, it was decided that the Congress proper should not resume until 3 o'clock.

The afternoon sitting of the Congress did not begin till 4 o'clock. The cause of this delay was the protracted deliberation of the three international committees to which the first three subjects on the agenda paper had been referred. The committee which considered the question of labour-protecting legislation, national and international, and the means to be used for extending it and rendering it efficacious, was unable to arrive at any decision on the subject and postponed the presentation of its report until tomorrow. The second committee, which considered the right of combination, its securities and methods, from an international standpoint, recommended that the subject should be handled in connexion with the tenth item on the programme, which has reference to the problems of practical organization. This point was debated for some time without any definite conclusion, and ultimately the subject was temporarily dropped in order to permit of the reading of telegrams which had been received from all parts of Europe and from America. These telegrams were all of a fraternal character, and some of them were very warmly received.

After the telegrams had been read, it was announced that Mr. Burton, from London, was in attendance, not as a delegate, but in order to appeal to the Congress for sympathy on behalf of the London carpenters and joiners, whom he represented, and who were now on strike. It was unanimously resolved that Mr. Burton should be permitted to remain, and that as the London carpenters and joiners had struck for shorter hours he should be allowed to speak when the eight hours question came on for discussion.

The representative of the Ghent Co-operative Society then cordially invited the members of the Conference to visit Ghent on Sunday next. A special train, he stated, had been chartered for the purpose, and the delegates would be the guests of his society. The Congress decided to accept the invitation. Another invitation from the trade unionists of Brussels to the foreign delegates to an entertainment to-night at the Maison du Peuple was likewise accepted. By this time 5 o'clock had been reached, and it was resolved to adjourn, referring back the question of combination for further consideration by Committee No. 2. Sixteen more delegates arrived to-day, of whom five are French and seven English. The latter are Messrs. H. Quelch, of the South Side Labour Protection League, London; W. Snow, of the Tottenham School Board, representing the Gasworkers; E. R. Peace, of the Fabian Society; W. Sprow and W. Key, representing the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union, which comprises 130,000 members; and J. Deskin and E. Gilemard, of the Walsall Socialist Society.

Various printed reports were issued to the delegates to-day. One of these is presented from Great Britain and Ireland by the Gasworkers' Union, the General Labourers' Union, the Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League, the Bloomsbury Socialist Society, and the Battersea Labour League combined. The report begins by declaring that the trade union movement, which has attracted so much attention during the last two years, and which is described as the "new unionism," is undoubtedly of a Socialistic nature. "It is true," says the report, "that in England 'labour party' and 'Socialist party' are not yet convertible expressions, as they are on the Continent, but they are rapidly becoming so, and this notwithstanding the fact that not a few of the new unionists themselves would be among the first to deny it." The report further draws attention to the fact that at the Trade Union Congress at Liverpool last year 44 out of the 70 resolutions proposed called for Government or municipal interference.

Other reports deal with the progress made by the Socialist or labour movements in Germany, Belgium, and Roumania.—*Reuter's Special Service.*

The Times, Wednesday, Aug 19, 1891; pg. 3; Issue 33407; col D

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR CONGRESS AT BRUSSELS.

BRUSSELS, Aug. 18. The British delegates to the International Labour Congress held a meeting this morning at 9 o'clock in order to exchange views respecting the comparatively slender representation of British trade unions at the Congress. The general opinion appeared to be that the number of British representatives would have been much larger than it is had the invitations to attend been sent out earlier. They were not issued until the beginning of July, whereas, it was pointed out, at least two months' notice should have been given if the invitations were to be extensively accepted. To the number of the English representatives already mentioned should be added that of Mr. J. Jones, who is attending on behalf of the Amalgamated Tailors. The British trade union delegates number in all 23, and represent a total membership of 109,393.

The Congress resumed in the Halle Saint Michel at half-past 10, the Presidents for the day being Mr. Sanial, from America, and M. Koudens, from Denmark. The former represents the Central Labour Union of New York and the American Socialists generally, while the latter is an exponent of the views of the Social Democratic party in Germany.

In opening the day's proceedings, Mr. Sanial spoke of the increasingly important part which the United States played in the economy of nations, and then went on to say that in America 70,000 million dollars were annually stolen from the hands of those who produced them. "In the midst of all that wealth," he added, "misery is increasing so fast that the land of the brave and the home of the free is in reality a hell."

These remarks, on being translated, were vigorously applauded by all sections of the Congress.

It was announced that 21 additional delegates had arrived this morning from France, bringing up the number of representatives from that country to 77. The Congress was also informed that a Spanish delegate, Señor Fernandez Ramos, had just presented himself as the representative of 26 working men's associations in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, that the majority of these associations were composed of Anarchists, and that Señor Ramos avowed himself an Anarchist, and, moreover, claimed admission as such. Upon this, a long and fiery discussion, conducted occasionally amid considerable uproar, took place, as to whether Señor Ramos should be permitted to attend the sittings of the Congress. Another Spanish delegate objected emphatically through an interpreter, to Señor Ramos's admission, on the ground that he was the mouthpiece of a number of associations which had opposed every endeavour made by Spanish working men to obtain remedial labour legislation. M. Volder, secretary to the Congress, and one of its principal organizers, protested in a vigorous speech against these repeated attempts on the part of Anarchists to obtain recognition. Señor Ramos asked permission to reply, but a resolution was passed that he should not be heard, and eventually it was decided by an overwhelming majority that he should be excluded from the Congress.

At this stage in the proceedings, Mr. Haala, of the London Society of Compositors, moved, and Mrs. Aveling seconded, a resolution that the Congress should proceed at once to business, and the motion was carried by acclamation.

M. Vandervelde, of Brussels, then reported the result of the labours of the committee appointed to examine into the present position of labour-protecting legislation, national and international, and the means to be used to secure its extension and its efficacy. The committee, he said, regretted to find that since the Berlin Labour Conference, which was admittedly the outcome of the last Socialist Congress, very little progress had been made in securing the passage of remedial measures in the various countries. It therefore recommended the Congress to pass a resolution pledging workers in all countries to active and persistent propaganda with a view to bringing about legislation, which was urgently needed. The committee further recommended the workers of all countries not to support any candidate for a public position who was not prepared to accept the resolutions passed by the Congress.

M. Vandervelde's speech and the resolution advocated by the committee having been translated, the Congress adjourned for luncheon.

When the delegates reassembled at 3 o'clock they were informed that Mr. Burton, who represented the London Carpenters and Joiners, now on strike, was obliged to leave Brussels by the next train, and though not a delegate, would like to address a few words to the Congress on behalf of his society before his departure.

Permission having been granted, Mr. Burton delivered a speech, in which he stated that during the last 10 weeks the carpenters and joiners of London have been striking for an eight hours day, the abolition of piece-work, and the suppression of the system of sub-contracts. Party divisions outside the ranks of the associated builders had already conceded the terms demanded by the men, but the society wished to make it known that it would materially assist them in their struggle if Continental workers refrained from coming over to fill the places of those on strike. The society would further be glad to receive any financial aid which their Continental brethren might extend to them. Mr. Burton's remarks, on being translated, were cordially received, and it was understood that the subject should be referred to a small committee.

A speech was next delivered by a representative of the clerks and shop assistants of Berlin, who declared with much emphasis that the class to which he belonged intended to organize themselves, and would no longer remain passive instruments in the hands of capitalists. This address concluded, the business of the agenda paper was resumed. Mr. Wallen, of the Cabinet Makers' Union, spoke in support of the resolution recommended by the committee on labour-protecting legislation. He said that what was wanted was a better understanding among workers belonging to different countries. When Continental workers came to the United Kingdom they worked for lower wages than Englishmen were willing to accept, and this certainly did not assist the cause of labour. Working men ought to act in concert all over the world. They should also strive to secure due representation and influence in the various Governments. In Great Britain they had to fight both the Tory party and the Liberal capitalists, as the struggle on the question of half-timers had recently shown. The speaker urged further that all manufacturers ought to mark their goods in the manner that was now required by the English Merchandise Marks Act, so as to abolish the art of spreading. In conclusion, he appealed to all workers to rally to the movement, which was

directed to emancipate labour and break down the tyranny of capital.

M. Deschamps, of the Paris Municipal Council, who attended as the delegate of the French workmen, also spoke in support of the resolution. He was of opinion that working men, on going to foreign countries, should not act so as to pull wages down, as Germans going into France sometimes did. He admitted, however, that, as a rule, Germans raised the local wages, and in this respect compared favourably with immigrant Italians, who commonly refrained from doing so. He held strongly that workmen repatriating to other countries should win the trade unions there instead of underselling their fellow-workmen in the labour market.

Herr Babel, the well-known German Socialist and member of the Reichstag, who followed, generally supported the resolution. In one respect, he said, the resolution did not quite meet the views of the German Labour Party. It declared that no candidate for public office should be supported unless he agreed to the demands formulated by the proletariat. "Now that," said Herr Babel, "might mean anything. The resolution should be more definite. It ought to affirm, as we in Germany affirm, that no candidate is worthy of support unless he advocates the whole programme of the Social Democratic party from beginning to end."

M. Gilly, a French delegate, and Herr Biser, from Germany, also spoke on the resolution, but neither touched on the difficulty that had been raised by Herr Babel.

Meanwhile, the British delegates had retired in order to consider in private whether they should declare for the resolution as it stood, or should join the Germans in urging the more definite and narrow line of action recommended by Herr Babel. During their absence a motion was brought forward to terminate the discussion by the application of the censure. The Englishmen, on hearing of this, returned hurriedly without having come to any decision, but in time to assist in defeating the motion, for the censure was, therefore, adjourned till 6 o'clock, and the resolution accordingly stands first on the agenda paper for to-morrow.

A good deal of excitement was caused during the afternoon by the announcement that an Italian delegate, Signor Merlino, had been arrested this morning on an Italian warrant as he was leaving the Halle Saint Michel. The fact was announced from the chair, and some impatient speeches were made in reference to the Congress under the name of Levy, and at first it was supposed that a reference to him by his own name in the *People* newspaper had put the police on his track. M. Volder, however, who is the editor of the journal in question, repudiated this suggestion, pointing out that Signor Merlino had frequently been spoken of in the Congress by his own name. Signor Scandi, an Italian delegate from Milan, and a lawyer by profession, intervened strongly on the arrest of his colleague, and concluded by moving a resolution protesting against the arrest, and the resolution was carried by acclamation. It was not publicly stated what Merlino's offence had been, but it was quite clear that the sympathy of the delegates as a body was cordially against his side. It is said that the Belgian police arrested him as an Anarchist, and will conduct him to the Italian frontier and there hand him over to the Italian authorities.

A second delegate was arrested this afternoon in the person of M. Chauviret, of the Paris Municipal Council. M. Chauviret, it appears, had previously been expelled from Belgian territory and therefore had no right to be present in Brussels. On being taken to the police office, however, he applied for permission to remain until the close of the Congress, and this concession has been extended to him.

According to the present arrangement, the Congress will terminate its labours on Saturday next. The delegates will thus be enabled to visit Ghent on Sunday and return to their homes on the following day.—*Reuter's Special Service.*

The Times, Thursday, Aug 20, 1891; pg. 3; Issue 33408; col C

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR CONGRESS AT BRUSSELS.

BRUSSELS, Dec. 12. The fourth sitting of the International Socialist Labour Congress was held here to-day in the Hotel Saint Michel. Before the general body of delegates assembled, the British representatives held a meeting for the purpose of determining how they should act in reference to the question of labour-protective legislation. The joint they had to decide was whether they should vote for the resolution regarding the support to be accorded to labour candidates at elections in the present case, or for the more definite and restricted policy advocated by Herr Adler in his speech yesterday.

Mr. Charles Robson, of the Sheffield Trades Council, moved that the resolution should be allowed to remain in its present open form, but this motion, which was seconded by Mr. A. Greenwood, of Leeds, who represents the Yorkshire glass bottle makers, was lost by 14 votes to 11.

It was then decided by 10 to six, on the motion of Mr. F. Gilles, of the International Federation of Trades and Industries, seconded by Mr. H. Quelin, of the South Side Labour Protection League, London, that the terms of the resolution ought to be modified in such a manner as to declare that wherever working men were in possession of political rights they should exercise them with the object of emancipating themselves from "wage-slavery."

The British delegates also discussed the present memorandum of the Congress, and a resolution was moved by Mr. Thorne, of the London Seafarers, seconded by Mr. Quilley, of the Socialist Labour Party, and carried unanimously, to the effect that the British delegates were attending the Congress as a labour congress and not as a Socialist congress.

The Congress proper resumed at 10 o'clock, the president for the day being Mr. Baertling, a Swedish delegate, and Mr. Donatien Nierrenheim, the president of the Dutch contingent. This afternoon's debate on the question of labour-protective legislation was continued. Mr. Kahan, who is the spokesman of the Hebrew Trade Union of New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia, said that the resolution recommended by the committee did not state definitely what the demands of the working classes were. It should, he held, be altered so as to enable the Congress to declare that it recognized the fact that there was to be a class struggle in order to settle the labour troubles of to-day, and that was to be waged between the working classes and the capitalists. "We are not," said Mr. Kahan, "going to lead crying and form for legislation. We intend to extort it from the capitalist class by force and we are going to abolish the wage system that exists at present."

Herr Adler, an Austrian delegate, took the same view of the resolution as Herr Kahan. At this point the debate was interrupted in order to allow the secretary, Mr. Jean Voltaire, who had just reached the hall, to make a statement regarding the news of Signor Marini's last evening.

"Yesterday," said Mr. Voltaire, "the Standing Orders Committee and the Belgian delegates met and conferred together on the subject, and it was arranged that a deputation should interview the authorities. The Ministry of Justice was closed for the day, but this morning the deputation was in the head of the Detective Department. The interview was marred by the French cynicism, but the result was satisfactory. The answers given to the deputation showed that what we all feared so much yesterday had not taken place. It turned out that the Belgian Government never intended to give Signor Marini up to the Italian Government. On the contrary, he was taken to Ostend, and from there he has sailed to London."

This last statement was enthusiastically cheered by the British delegates.

Messrs. Frankel, Allemann, Regnard, Vaillant, and Singer continued the debate. The French delegates, following the lead of Mr. Kahan, continued that the resolution was too indefinite. They introduced a series of amendments, the most important being one in the name of M. Vaillant, which aimed at particularising the Socialist demands.

Another amendment with a similar object was proposed by Herr Adler. M. Allemann, the well-known Possibilist leader, suggested that the various amendments should be referred to the Standing Orders Committee; but it was pointed out that that committee already had its hands full.

A French delegate then proposed that the closure should be applied, remarking that they had half-a-dozen amendments before them, which surely were enough to close them. Upon this another French delegate called out:—"We are prepared to have half-a-dozen more before we are tired." It was evident, however, that the majority of the French delegates were in favour of closing the debate. Seeing this, and perceiving also that the French resolutions embodied Socialist demands to which the British could not agree, one of the English delegates interposed and very energetically declared that he would advise the Congress to be careful what resolution it passed, because English trade unionists could not continue to take part in these conferences on the basis of resolutions like those of Messrs. Vaillant and Adler. English trade unionists, however, were anxious to co-operate with their Continental brethren, and that co-operation would continue to be possible if the Congress would pass the resolution in the form which the British delegates had suggested, and which defined the aims of the working men in general terms without going into details.

Messrs. Vaillant and Frankel both offered to try to amend their proposals in such a manner as to meet the views of their English confreres. They suggested that the matter should be referred back to the committee, who should consider during the dinner hour whether an agreement could not be arrived at. This proposal, which was supported by Mr. Banks, of the London Society of Compositors, was agreed to. The English amendment calling on the working classes to direct their political influence to putting an end to "wage slavery" was accordingly handed in with the names of Mr. Robson (Leicester Trades Council) as mover and Mr. Robson (Sheffield Trades Council) as seconder.

The Congress then adjourned for luncheon.

On the resumption of the sitting at half-past 3, it was announced that the British delegates invited their colleagues of all other nationalities to take part on some convenient day in a "fraternal demonstration" on the field of Waterloo. The invitation was received with applause by the Belgians, Poles, and German delegates, and it was agreed, on the suggestion of Mr. Voltaire, that the members of each group should meet privately to-morrow morning in order to decide what course they should take in regard to the invitation.

The Congress then received the report of Committee No. 1 on the resolution referred back to that body at the close of the morning sitting. M. Van der Velde, the reporter, said the committee had come to a unanimous decision as to the terms of the resolution, which it would ask the Congress to adopt without further debate. The resolution as finally drafted read as follows:—

"This Congress, recognizing the existence of a class struggle, and convinced that as long as class rule prevails the emancipation of the working classes will be impossible, declares that the laws enacted and the decrees issued in various countries since the Paris International Congress, held in 1889, do not in any respect meet the aspirations of the workers. That although the Berlin Conference, as admitted by those who

themselves initiated it, met under the pressure exerted by the International Labour Congresses, and may therefore be regarded as an important concession to public opinion, the results have demonstrated that existing Governments do not wish to effect necessary reforms, and that, on the other hand, the resolutions of the Berlin Conference have been used as a pretext by certain manufacturing countries to arrest the development of labour-protective legislation by invoking the decisions of the Berlin Conference and pointing to the defects in the legislation of competing countries. Moreover, this Congress affirms that in cases in which legislation is not defective, its application is allowed to remain inoperative.

"For these reasons, this Congress urges upon the workers of all countries to agitate for the realization of the programme laid down by the Paris Congresses, if only to make it clear to the workers that the governing and exploiting classes are hostile to legislation effectively protecting the interests of labour.

"Whereas it is necessary to give to the International Labour movement a common impulse, especially in the direction of protective labour legislation, therefore be it resolved by this Congress:—

"(1) To organize in every country a permanent commission of inquiry concerning the conditions of labour in its relation to working-class legislation.

"(2) To collect, collate, and exchange all necessary information with a view to the development and unification of all the said legislation.

"(3) This Congress recommends the wage-slavery of the whole world to unite their efforts against the domination of capital, and, wherever they enjoy political rights, to exercise them with the object of gaining their emancipation from wage-slavery.

M. Van der Velde's speech and the resolution were enthusiastically received by the entire meeting.

The resolution was thereupon put to the Congress and was adopted unanimously. The Congress then proceeded to consider the attitude which organized labour everywhere should assume on the Jewish question. The discussion was introduced by Mr. Kahan, who claimed the sympathy of the Congress for the Jews.

Mr. Voltaire then reported on behalf of the committee appointed to consider the matter. He said he was instructed by the committee to state that they sympathized with every oppressed people—

with the Jewish as with any other. For Jews, as for all other nations, there was only one remedy—Socialism; and only one asylum—the Socialist party. The committee recommended the Congress to pass a resolution condemning the anti-Semitic agitation as a device of the capitalist class and of reactionary Governments, to arrest the Socialist movement from its course and to sow division among the workers, and affirming that the only way to achieve the emancipation of the Jewish working classes was to effect the amalgamation of the Socialist parties in the respective countries. The resolution, however, went on to affirm that, inasmuch as Socialists had always declared that they could recognize no distinction of race or nationality, the Congress did not deem it advisable to entertain any formal resolution on the matter, but resolved to proceed to the order of the day.

An amendment was then proposed on behalf of the British section that the words "amalgamation of Socialist parties" should be altered to "amalgamation of Socialist and labour parties." Dr. Regnard, of Paris, thought that if the conference condemned anti-Jewish tyranny it ought to condemn Jewish tyranny also, and to remember that many newspapers were subsidized by Jews.

M. Angerstein, a French delegate, trusted that they would always sympathize with the Jews in their difficulties, in spite of all talk about alliances. It should, however, not be forgotten that Jewish financiers and Jewish banks were great oppressors of labour. He proposed that in this resolution the words "condemns anti-Semitic agitation" should be altered to "condemns both anti-Semitic and philo-Semitic agitation."

This amendment was greeted with applause, and was agreed to almost unanimously. The Congress also accepted the English amendment, so that the resolution, in so far as it had any definite bearing on the Jewish question, was dropped of any point it ever possessed. As the hour for adjournment had now nearly arrived, the sitting was brought to a close.—*London Spectator*.

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR CON- GRESS AT BRUSSELS

BRUSSELS, Aug. 20.

The International Socialist Labour Congress reassembled at half-past 10 o'clock this morning in the Halle St. Michel, this being the fifth day of the meeting. The presidents for the sitting were Herr Roscher and Signor Surati, the former being an Austrian and the latter an Italian delegate.

Signor Surati, in his introductory remarks, said he was proud to preside over so mighty an alliance, which, he trusted, would outlast any triple or quadruple alliance in the world.

The Congress, for the first time, was enabled to go straight to the business in hand. The first question to be considered was that of combination in all its various aspects. For the purposes of the discussion two orders of the day were combined, so that the Congress might deal comprehensively with the whole question of the "right of combination, its securities, strikes, boycotting, and co-operative movements, from an international point of view," together with the more general problem of "serious practical organization."

M. Arthur Groussier, a delegate representing the French Federation of Metallurgists, reported to the Congress the decisions at which the committee appointed to consider these subjects had arrived. He recalled the fact that organization was impossible in certain countries, on account of prohibitive laws, and said it was therefore questionable whether substantial progress could ever be made by the working classes in these countries without incurring risks. In spite of this consideration, however, a proposal had been made in committee in favour of an international

committee, but eventually it had been agreed that for the present it would be better to aim simply at federation in the various countries individually. As regarded the creation of a more active connexion between labour organization and political propaganda, it had been pointed out to the committee that there were some countries in which it would be a mistake to allow labour parties to become political, and the committee accordingly was of opinion that it had better be left to the labour parties in the several countries to deal with the question in the manner they thought most advisable. With respect to strikes, the committee, while recognizing that they might at times be necessary, thought, seeing how often they had proved unsuccessful, the working classes should be recommended to take every precaution before resorting to that method of asserting their claims.

The views of the committee were embodied in a long resolution, which affirmed all the points enumerated. The speaker went through the various topics on which secretaries to be appointed in the various countries were to correspond for the purpose of diffusing information, and dwelt at considerable length on the legislation for which the workers should agitate. He also laid down the doctrine that workmen everywhere should strengthen their organization as far as possible, in case a general strike should become necessary, and added that a resolution to that effect had been adopted, though not unanimously, by the committee.

Herr Bock, a German delegate, submitted what may be termed a minority report on behalf of his fellow-countrymen on the committee. He said that they were desirous of entering into the closest relations possible with the workers of other lands; but, having regard to the fact that even national—to say nothing of international—combination was forbidden by the laws of their country, they were not able to support the policy of appointing national secretaries for the purpose of carrying on such a correspondence as that proposed. They believed, however, that communication ought to be maintained between the secretaries of the various individual organizations. The German members of the committee also entered an objection to any agitation intended to promote a general strike.

Dr. Aveling, who attends as the delegate of the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Association (London), supported the views put forward by the German members of the committee. The society which he represented had, he said, already done everything in its power in the direction of corresponding with the working men of other countries, but he thought the time had not yet come for appointing national secretaries.

M. Fanianx, who represents the Belgian

the British, the Germans, and those acting with M. Delcluze.

At this point Signor Surati, the Italian president, suggested that as the Congress seemed almost unanimous on the subject it should proceed to the vote. This suggestion being favourably received, M. Delcluze was called upon to wind up the debate. When he had done so, the final draft of the resolution was read. The vote was then about to be taken, when M. Groussier rose and endeavoured to speak. Loud cries of "Vote" and "Closure" were raised, and a scene of great disorder ensued. M. Groussier protested energetically against the closure, while the chairman rang his bell incessantly. Ultimately the motion for closing the debate was put and carried, though not by a very large majority. M. Groussier, whose action received the support of a considerable number of French and Belgian delegates, still remained in the tribune, demanding permission to speak. The votes of Germany, Austria, the United States, and Great Britain were then given unanimously in favour of the resolution as amended, but as M. Groussier still refused to leave the tribune, and persisted in his opposition, M. Volders, secretary to the Congress, intervened with the suggestion that the votes of the remaining nationalities should not be recorded until to-morrow. The corrected draft of the resolution might, he pointed out, be printed in the meantime, and the votes be taken in the morning without discussion. This course was agreed to, and the Congress then adjourned.

The amended resolution, which is of considerable length, affirms that it is the duty of the working classes to organize strikes and boycotting, these being the only weapons which at present they possess for carrying on war against capital. This war should be maintained by the various groups of workers with vigour, but, nevertheless, recourse should be had to arbitration whenever this is practicable without compromising the dignity of labour. A central committee should be established in every country where it is possible for the purpose of obtaining, centralizing, and diffusing information concerning labour matters. All wage-earners should become members of trade unions, and the employment of the workers should be regulated only by their own unions and by labour exchanges of which they have the control. Contracts for public works should be given to trade unions only, and if a union refused to undertake the work, then it should be performed only by firms who employed none but trade unionists. The resolution also declares that the right of combination should be guaranteed by law, and that severe penalties should be imposed on any one making an attack upon that right.—*Reuter's Special Service.*

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR CONGRESS AT BRUSSELS.

BRUSSELS. Aug. 21.

The British delegates to the Socialist Labour Congress held a private meeting this morning, when, on the motion of Mr. Sprow, representative of the Sunderland shipbuilders, seconded by Mr. Parnell, of the Cabinetmakers' Alliance, London, it was agreed that the British section should support the resolution in favour of the abolition of piecework when that subject came before the Congress. Mr. Holmes, of the Leicester hosiery trade, moved an amendment, which was seconded by Mr. Hobson, of the Sheffield Trades Council, to the effect that the abolition of piecework should be advocated only in those places where it was found to have a demoralizing effect and was calculated to bring about a reduction of wages; but the meeting decided, by 12 votes to six, to support the total suppression of the system.

Mr. Burrows, representing the Navvies', Bricklayers', Labourers', and Matchmakers' Union, then moved, and Mr. Ogilvy, of the Scottish labour party, seconded, a resolution recommending that the next Congress should be called the "International Workers' Congress." Mr. Thorne, of the Gasworkers' Union, moved as an amendment that it should be called the "International Socialist Labour Congress," but the original resolution was carried by 13 votes to six.

The Congress resumed at half-past 10 o'clock in the Halle Saint Michel, the presidents for the day being M. Jeppersen, a Norwegian delegate, and M. Mille, who is a Roumanian. In his opening remarks, M. Mille appealed to the Congress to raise aloft the red flag, which was red with the blood of workers, of Socialists, and of Russian Nihilists. Referring to the subject which

the Congress was about to consider—the military system—the speaker observed that, thanks to that accursed system, the Roumanian peasant earned 3d. a day and lived in a hut, which was no better as a dwelling than the caves of primitive times.

M. Dumay, one of the Deputies for Paris in the French Chamber, reported the result of a visit made by him to Wivegnies, near Fournies, in the Nord, where 2,000 workmen had gone out on strike to compel the reinstatement of a miner who had been dismissed from his employment for advocating trade union principles. There was a strong force of gendarmes and cavalry in the district, but the strikers maintained a firm attitude, and he had been escorted back to the station by a crowd of 4,000 men and women.

The votes were then taken without discussion, as arranged yesterday, on the amended resolution submitted by the committee appointed to consider the question of combination. The deputies from Germany, Austria, Great Britain, America, Denmark, Italy, Spain, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, Roumania, Hungary, Poland, and Sweden were all unanimously in its favour. The Belgians voted for it with only three dissentients, and it was agreed to by the great majority of the French representatives. When the president announced that the resolution had been passed by every nationality represented at the Congress all the delegates rose to their feet and cheered enthusiastically.

It should be mentioned that the resolution in its final form was not precisely the same as that for which the British delegates voted last night. The passages referring to strikes and to the appointment of an international correspondence committee were left unaltered, but the last paragraph declaring that Government work should be given only to trade unions was struck out.

to the Socialist Labour Congress at Brussels. They state that until the working men of Russia are organized, and the country is covered with a network of Socialist societies and trade unions, they could have no *raison d'être* at such an assembly. Hitherto their aims have been retarded by the terrible tyranny under which the working men of Russia are suffering—a tyranny that unites the worst features of Western absolutism with all the horrors of an Oriental despotism. With the construction of railways, however, and the opening up of Asia, Russia is becoming more and more a commercial and industrial State, whilst the workers are gaining the necessary means of communication.

The pamphlet goes on to say that a great social revolution is now being evolved, and that when the working men of Russia are properly organized there will appear for the first time in history a force strong enough to overthrow Czarism, the present form of Government, and capable of raising the country to a position which will enable her to take her place amongst the civilized Powers of the world. As Social Democrats, they are not opposed to terrorism, so long as it is directed against Russian despotism as a system and not against particular persons. The Russian proletariat is no novice in revolutionary movements. A group of workmen originated the idea of blowing up the Imperial Palace in 1880, and it was carried out by a workman. In spite of all the efforts of the Russian secret police, revolutionary societies are to-day more numerous and stronger than ever. When the time for holding another Socialist Labour Congress comes round they will be organized and send delegates.

This pamphlet has been forwarded to Brussels for presentation to the Congress.—*Our Correspondent.*

THE BRUSSELS SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

The International Congress, now sitting, can boast of being numerously attended, and it must be acknowledged that, in spite of the very provocative circumstances under which it was convoked, there has been a considerable self-control exercised by those who had every reason to quarrel with one another. It has already been explained how the Belgians broke their pledge, the result of which was that many of those who had participated in the Possibilist Congress felt that they had been betrayed, and hesitated to go to Brussels. The negotiations with the Marxists caused, too, so much delay that it was difficult to elect delegates so late in the day. Thus the Parliamentary committee, representing the whole of English trade unionism, has not sent a delegate. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the best organized and the strongest trade union in the world; the Miners' Association, and the Metropolitan Radical Federation, which were represented at the Possibilist Congress of 1889, have not sent any representatives to the Brussels Congress. After the vote of the Liverpool Trade Union Congress accepting the invitation to Brussels, there might have been a hundred or so English delegates, had the Congress been kept on the old lines. As it is, there are only 51 English delegates. These comprise only one new representative of the old and stable trade unions—namely, Mr. Hobson, member of the Sheffield Town Council and delegate of the Sheffield Trades Council. Thus there is a decided falling off with regard to the more influential trade unions. The chief and novel feature of the English delegation is the appearance of members of the Social Democratic Federation as delegates of trade unions. This is a significant fact. At the congress of 1889, the Social Democratic Federation sent 14 delegates; on the present occasion the Federation is represented by only five delegates. But, on the other hand, no fewer than eight trade unions have elected members of the Social Democratic Federation as their representatives, thus showing how Socialism is permeating trade unionism. Still, as the Congress had fallen into the hands of the Marxists, as the Possibilist rules had not been applied, and the title changed from Workers' Congress to Socialist Congress, the English delegation was weak both in respect of trade unionists, who for the most part are not Socialists, and in respect of English Socialists, who for the most part are not Marxists. It was only at the very last moment that the Social Democratic Federation decided to send some few delegates in spite of the fact that the Belgians had broken their pledge. Much the same, too, might be said of the French Possibilists.

Whether it be in consequence of this fact or for some other reason, the Marxists have, in the face of the Congress, abandoned their Marxist principles. For the uninitiated it is necessary to explain that what constitutes one of the principal differences between what is termed Marxism and other schools of Socialism is the tendency of the Marxists to create a centralized and autocratic administration. They are accused of being dogmatic doctrinaires and of seeking to impose, in all countries, leaders whom they personally like and choose, but whom the nationalities concerned have not themselves selected. Hence the anti-Marxists constantly claim that each nationality should appoint its own leaders independently of any outside influence and should adopt its own line of tactics—in a word, local autonomy has been the cry of the anti-Marxists. In the present instance, however, the Marxists themselves have, through their most favoured leaders, taken up the same cry. They have voted against the creation of any central organization to govern the future working men's association. They have rejected even the proposal to adopt one single title to designate the party in all countries. Not only are they against a central international organization, but they actually oppose a central national organization which shall act as a sort of house of call or bureau of correspondence to maintain international relations. If these protestations are sincere, if this conversion is real, far-reaching consequences may be anticipated. It must not be forgotten that it was the attempted autocratic and centralized domination the Marxists sought to exercise which brought about the disruption and destruction of the old International Workmen's Association. If the Marxists had spoken 20 years ago as they have spoken this week at Brussels the International would probably have lived to this day.

All this is obviously of considerable importance, for it holds out some prospect of complete union between Socialists, and might, therefore, bring to an end the feud which has lasted for now a quarter of a century. It is hard, however, to believe that this old warfare will have come so suddenly and quietly to an end. The very intrigues by which the Belgians were made to break the pledge they had given to the Possibilists does not seem a good foundation for this new departure for most unexpected peace. The unexpected, nevertheless, very often happens; and if there really is to be an end of the feud between the Marxists and the anti-Marxists it does not matter much what else is done. This is, in itself, a big enough result for one Congress.

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR CONGRESS AT BRUSSELS.

BRUSSELS, Aug. 22.

The Socialist Labour Congress met for its seventh and concluding sitting this morning at half-past 10 o'clock. For this occasion three presidents were appointed—M. Brandt (Switzerland), Señor Iglesias (Spain), and M. Laszynek (Poland), and these were assisted in regulating the discussions by the secretary, M. Jean Volders.

The questions of piecework and sub-contracting were first dealt with, and after speeches had been delivered by Mr. Walker, of the Cabinet Makers' Alliance (London), M. Vliegen (Holland), M. Bertrand (Belgium), M. Beving (Holland), M. Valadon (France), and Mr. Cahan (United States), the Congress agreed unanimously to a resolution condemning both systems.

The following resolution was then taken into consideration :—

" This Congress invites the Socialist parties and labour parties of all countries to affirm energetically in their programmes the complete equality of the two sexes and to demand the concession to women of the same political and civil rights as men, and the repeal of all laws placing women outside public rights."

The resolution, which was brought forward by M. W. Drucker, was very favourably received, and, after some discussion, was passed with only three dissentient voices.

This closed the morning sitting.

Business was resumed in the afternoon at half-past 3, when the Congress proceeded to consider the advisability of holding international demon-

stations on May 1 next in favour of an eight hours day. Mr. Petersen, a Danish delegate, who reported on behalf of the committee appointed to investigate the subject, stated that at the outset there appeared to be some difficulties in the way, as the British delegates could not guarantee the holding of demonstrations on that day, while the Germans had a preference for the first Sunday in May. In the result a compromise was arrived at, and the committee accordingly submitted to the Congress a resolution in favour of universal demonstrations "on May 1, if possible," thus leaving it open for any country to choose another date if more convenient.

Speeches having been delivered by M. Roscher (Austria), Herr Bebel, Dr. V. Jaclard, a French delegate, and Mr. Burrows (London), an addition to the resolution was proposed by M. Vaillant, to the effect that the eight hours day demonstration should be understood to be also one in favour of universal peace. M. van Loo, a Dutch delegate, objected to the amendment, on the ground that it might provoke counter demonstrations of a "Jingoist" character.

When the vote was about to be taken it was found that the resolution as printed in French differed from the English version, while the German rendering varied somewhat from both. In the French form the demonstrations were fixed absolutely for May 1, the words "if possible" being so placed as to apply not to the date but to the cessation of work on that day. More than an hour was wasted in discussing this point, the British section being anxious that the qualification should be made to apply to May day. Eventually M. Vaillant's amendment was rejected, the delegates from Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Denmark, Holland, Italy, Roumania, Sweden, and Norway voting against it, on the ground that it was unnecessary, while the Belgian, French, Polish, and Swiss groups gave it their support. The main resolution was next put, when the representatives of every nationality voted unanimously in favour of fixing the date absolutely on May 1, with the exception of the British, whose votes were given in the contrary sense.

It was then decided that the exact title of the next Congress, to be held in 1893, should be left over to be decided by that body itself, and the question of the most suitable meeting-place was then discussed. The American representatives had invited the Congress to go to Chicago, but M. Volders announced that, owing to the expense of the voyage across the Atlantic, the Standing Orders Committee could not recommend the acceptance of that proposal. It suggested that the next Congress should take place in Switzerland, and that the arrangements connected with it, including the choice of the precise locality, should be left to the Swiss labour party. The committee, Mr. Volders added, was very sorry that it could not select Chicago, but it expressed the hope that a few Continental delegates might soon attend a congress in the United States, just as a few representatives from the United States had come to the present assembly.

Mr. Sanial having thanked M. Volders for his kind words on behalf of the American section, Mr. Tylor, of the London Trades Council, moved that the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee in respect to Switzerland should be adopted by the Congress, and proposed Geneva as the place of meeting. He was of opinion that no one should be permitted to attend as a delegate whose expenses were not paid by the organization he represented, and suggested that the first week in August would be the most suitable time. He had mentioned Geneva, he explained, because that city was looked upon by Englishmen as the cradle of liberty and the asylum of all political refugees. He was in favour of the first week in August because, if that date were fixed, there would probably be a fuller representation of British organizations. His proposal with respect to expenses aimed at excluding those men of the middle class who were only too willing to pay their own expenses in order to express the progress of the labour movement. These suggestions were favourably received, and it was decided that they should be considered at a later date. Meanwhile, however, the resolution in favour of holding the Congress of 1893 in Switzerland was unanimously adopted.

On the motion of Mr. Sanial, the Congress then passed a resolution conveying its heartfelt wishes for the success of the Socialist Congress which it is proposed to hold at Chicago in 1893, and announcing its determination to send at all events a few delegates from the Continent. The resolution was carried amid much enthusiasm, as was also another expressing similar good wishes in regard to the Seamen's Congress which is to take place next year at Bordeaux.

M. Volders then addressed the Congress. That gathering, he declared, was an historical one. As for the cause of labour, its advancement was assured. "We look forward," he said, "to the ultimate triumph of the united proletariats of Europe."

Herr Bebel, who followed, and was greeted with extraordinary enthusiasm, congratulated the Congress on the success which had attended it. M. Chauchère, the member of the Paris Municipal Council who was arrested at the beginning of the week, but who subsequently received permission to remain in Brussels during the sitting of the Congress, spoke of that commune of the people which was coming, and which would serve as a monument to the heroes and martyrs who fell in the Paris Commune of 1871.

Mr. Burrows, on behalf of his brother delegates, as well as of millions of English workers at home, assured the Congress that its hopes and aspirations were shared by Great Britain. He trusted he might soon be present at such another international gathering to celebrate the downfall of that system of tyrannical capitalism in opposing which men and women had toiled and suffered, and struggled and died, but which would then be replaced by the great international brotherhood of man.

After this speech, which was received with loud cheers, the Congress closed at half-past 7 amid loud cries of "Hurray for the Social Revolution," followed by the singing of the "Marseillaise." To-night a fete is being given at the Maison du Peuple to the foreign delegates, and to-morrow all the members of the Congress, with their guests, go on an excursion to Ghent.—*Reuter's Special Service.*

